WOMEN AT MASSEY

Female Academic Staff 1963-1988

A research exercise presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of BA (Honours) in History at Massey University

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Contents

Acknowledgement

This Research Exercise draws heavily from recorded interviews with several long term staff of Massey University. I gratefully acknowledge the following people for creating time in their hectic schedules to share their thoughts and memories:

Glynnis Cropp - Dean of Humanities.
Graeme Fraser - Assistant Vice Chancellor, Academic.
Ephra Garrett - Senior Lecturer, Social Policy and Social Work.
Sylvia Rumball - Dean of Science.
Margaret Tennant - Associate Professor, History.

INTRODUCTION

Massey University has a relatively short history. What is the Turitea campus now was, from 1927, the "Massey Agricultural College". It offered, as the name suggests, a curriculum of agricultural and horticultural courses.[1] Also in Palmerston North from 1960 was a branch of Victoria University, Palmerston North University College (PNUC), offering internal and extramural courses. After the dissolution of the University of New Zealand at the end of 1961 and in response to growing demand for university places, Massey Agricultural College and PNUC merged as from 1 January 1963. The move was reflected in the Massey University of Manawatu Act, 1963, granting autonomy and degree-conferring powers to the fledgling institution from 1 January 1964.[2] From four faculties - Agricultural and Horticultural Science, Food Technology, Veterinary Science and General Studies - it grew to eight faculties with over 20,000 students and 700 staff by 1988.[3]

The purpose of this research exercise is to attempt an historical examination of the role that female academic staff played in that growth. New Zealand women had made some headway into the professions by the 1960s even though a career was not considered a long term necessity for 'normal' girls who would soon go home to produce and nurture healthy families and economic reality meant most families could not afford higher education for future housewives. Historically the range of jobs open to girls in New Zealand has been "terrifically small. There was a lot of domestic servant work, hotels...not terribly many office and shop assistant jobs".[4] Women tended to predominate in low status, low pay positions to a marked extent. Even in 1980 an academic publication could claim that "There have been so few women in

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[1]T.W.H. Brooking, *Massey its early years. A history of the development of Massey Agricultural College to 1943*, Palmerston North, Massey Alumni Assoc., 1977.
[2]*Massey University Calendar*, 1977, p 65.
[3]*Massey University Calendar*, 1988, pp 5-35. Student numbers included those on the extramural roll.
[4]Interview with Ephra Garrett, August, 1997.

some professions here that there is little to do except to note their absence". Teaching has been something of an exception, possibly because it "can be viewed as an extension of women's traditional and approved role of looking after other people".[5] Even within teaching however the proportion of women decreases as the age of the students and the position of responsibility increases.

Part of this examination will involve an outline of statistical and official sources and part will be of a more personal nature, drawing on interviews with some of the staff who have taught at Massey over the years. The period 1963-88 has been chosen because it was the first 25 years of Massey as a University. The decision to focus on Massey's women academics has two main aims: first, to highlight the experience and achievements of a group of staff and a part of our history that may otherwise go unrecorded and second, to promote understanding of the status of academic women at Massey specifically and in the New Zealand tertiary education sector in general.

There is a range of literature around this topic but little collated material on the subject of Massey itself, the people or the place. The two main histories, by T.W.H. Brooking and J.M.R. Owens,[6] focus respectively on an earlier period and a special aspect of the university's development. Brooking ends his inspection at 1943, outside the range of this exercise, but he does provide insight on what has continued to be a significant aspect of Massey's character, the agricultural and horticultural programmes. However he makes no substantive attempt to highlight or separate experience by gender. This can be attributed to the simple fact that there were very few women at Massey in the period he surveys. Owens covers the first 25 years of the extramural programme from 1960-85 with an emphasis on course development and increasing student participation. All of the women interviewed for this research exercise have been heavily involved in extramural teaching but where Owens does

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[5]Phillida Bunkle and Beryl Hughes (eds), *Women in New Zealand Society,* George Allen and Unwin, Auckland, 1980, p 120.
[6]see footnotes 1 and 2.

mention the importance of extramural education to women students, women staff are named in passing with no explicit attempt at gender analysis. While this exercise cannot claim to breach this gap it is intended to provide another perspective to the history of Massey.

While it could be argued that it is unnecessarily restrictive and unrealistic to focus on one gender, this study supports the viewpoint that "the experiences of male and female academics are different because of the social construction and reality of gender roles".[7] This is a complex issue with significant implications for the reproduction of 'knowledge' - "as a social institution the university is the pivotal gatekeeper of knowledge in our society. If women are not present in the creation and dissemination of that knowledge, then its very nature is incomplete".[8] While recognising that men as well as women are affected by gender constructions of their role, the limitations of this short study have necessitated a focus on women as a distinctive minority within the university setting.

Chapter One looks at statistics and policies, charting the numbers and distribution of female academics at Massey through 25 years: from 7% of academic staff in 1963 to 24% in 1989.[9] Drawing mainly on official and archival sources such as Department of Education annual reports and the Massey Calendars, it reviews the period 1963-88 for the percentage of women staff and the regulatory framework within which they functioned. In this section of the report a profile of Massey women is outlined by looking at numbers, positions - in terms of faculty and seniority - university policies and changes in working conditions such as the provision for maternity leave and promotion policies. It also examines briefly the contribution of women in terms of

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[7]Margaret Wilson "Academic Women in the 1990s" in N. Alcorn (ed), *Education and the Equality of the sexes: twenty years on,* Proceedings of the conference held at the School of Education, University of Waikato, 2-4 July, 1995, p 62.
[8]Anne-Marie O'Neill, "The Equal Opportunity Myth. Women in New Zealand Educational Institutions", in Suzann Olsson (ed), *The Gender Factor. Women in New Zealand Organisations,* Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1992, p 68.
[9]Massey University College of Manawatu, *Calendar,* 1963, pp 9-13 and Massey University, *Calendar,* 1989. pp 15-40.

university development, course expansion and participation in higher administration. In addition it outlines the broader academic climate of the times so that the Massey research can be placed within that context.

Part of this process involves a review of related literature, with specific reference to reports compiled by Margaret Wilson and Elizabeth Ponter.[10] While these reports take a sociological rather than historical perspective they are important because they demonstrate the fact that men and women academics were not experiencing the same work situation in universities in an era of 'equal' opportunity. In her report Wilson used Department of Statistics tables and a questionnaire sent to 1065 men and women teaching in New Zealand universities in 1984, of which 700 replied,[11] to profile the status of academic women. She explored questions of background, career development and personal circumstances in her analysis; providing substantial data and highlighting many issues impacting specifically on women. The Ponter report took the general form of the Wilson research and applied it to the situation at Massey in 1988. Again, while it was a sociological analysis, concerned principally with the elimination of discrimination, it did, in the process, both provide data and highlight issues specific to women.

Chapter Two draws on interviews with four women and one man who are, or have been, teaching staff at Massey. It is not claimed that the women are fully representative of staff at Massey but they have all made significant contributions to their disciplines and are recognised as such: again, the confines of space have necessitated strict criteria for selecting sources. The aim is to recreate the personal side of the story of "Women at Massey", where possible in their own words. The interviews with the women asked for responses to questions on educational background, career development, personal circumstances and future objectives. In addition to

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[10]Margaret Wilson, *Report on the Status of Academic Women in New Zealand,* Prepared for the Association of University Teachers of New Zealand (Inc.) 1986 and Elizabeth Ponter, *Report on the Status of Academic Women at Massey University,* Sociology Department, Massey University, 1989.
[11]Wilson, *Report on the Status of Academic Women in New Zealand,* p 2.

describing their experience at Massey this chapter makes some attempt to highlight areas of specific significance for female staff. The male interviewee offered perspective into, among other things, the role that men have sometimes played as mentors for female staff.

In Chapter Three the aim is to integrate statistical and personal evidence in order to draw some conclusions from the research. To do this it is necessary to step back a little and look again at a range of influences both from both inside and outside Massey such as family circumstances and responsibilities. Chapter Three attempts to place this research within the framework of these influences and the possibilities of choice they allowed. Some of the issues raised by Wilson and Ponter are discussed, ie. domestic responsibilities, appointment and promotion. Other issues considered are the increasing importance of a PhD qualification and the tendency for some faculties to be more favourable to women than others. In conclusion the final part of the research exercise also looks at the whole period, 1963-88, and briefly outlines the changes and developments evident during that time, comparing the experience of women who started at Massey in the early 1960s with those who came later.

Above all the aim is simply to recreate the story of the first 25 years of female academic staff at Massey. The statistics and sociological analyses are an important part of that story but they do not describe individual lives or give any idea of the richness and diversity of personal histories. Oral sources contain the flavour of life but on their own can be open to attack as biased or selective. This study draws on both sources, hoping in the process to capture some of the variety or the spirit of these women, despite the sometimes depressing statistics.

CHAPTER ONE

GLASS CEILINGS - A STATISTICAL PROFILE

Massey did not open with a hiss and a roar on January 1, 1963 as the choice of date may imply. The academic training system had been under review for some time. From as early as 1960 "it was clear that the University of New Zealand was going to be closed down and the university colleges were going to gain autonomy".[12] Demographic trends - the coming of age of the post-war baby boomers - and the need to supply university places for Teachers College students in Palmerston North led to the idea of combining PNUC and Massey Agricultural College. It actually took several years of negotiating between Government and the two Colleges before details of the amalgamation were finalised. During 1963 "The Massey University of Manawatu Act" was passed and so from January 1, 1964 Massey became "a fully autonomous university".[13]

The Calendar for 1963 lists 104 academic staff teaching in 20 departments. There are seven female staff listed, in six departments; Botany (2), Chemistry, English, Food Technology, Modern Languages and Zoology. One was a Senior Lecturer, one a Lecturer, three Junior Lecturers and two Technicians. There were no women Council or Professorial Board members, Officers or Deans.[14] Although there was no deliberate bar to the employment of female academics in any New Zealand university the figures reflect the fact that few women at the time had the necessary qualifications for some academic positions. This was not something peculiar to females as the annual reports of the Department of Education complain of "some difficulty recruiting suitably qualified staff"[15] across the board, but there were far fewer women with university

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[12]Owens, p 23.
[13]*Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives,* 1964, E3, Annual Reports of the Department of Education, Universities, p24.
[14]*Massey University of Manawatu Calendar,* Palmerston North, 1963, pp 9-13.
[15]*AJHR,* 1964, E3, p 25.

degrees than men. While women were never banned entry to the universities, growth in female student numbers in New Zealand had been slow. In 1959 women made up only 25% of the student body at Victoria University.[16]

The reasons for this go back into homes and communities, where attitudes and circumstances dictated the choices open to daughters. It is not intended here to review the history of educating girls in New Zealand, the focus being primarily on tertiary teaching as a career, but as academic qualifications are a prerequisite for that career the point does need to be made that even as late as the 1950s university was an expense that relatively few families could afford for their daughters. In the 1940s "the only full time (female) students at Victoria were some wealthy farmers' daughters doing - usually language - degrees and there would be some science people who had got scholarships...there was no way ordinary girls could go to University".[17] By 1965 females still made up just 24.5% of full-time and 30.1% of part-time students in New Zealand universities.[18]

Three of the women interviewed for this exercise came to Massey during the 1960s, a time "marked by a desperate shortage of New Zealand academics, a really desperate shortage, you just couldn't get people"[19]. Two were appointed at their first application and one, Ephra Garrett, "thought I'd had a mirage" when Professor Hill pulled up beside her one morning in 1967 and offered her a job. The 1960s were years of steady extension at Massey with increases in student numbers of up to 30% a year.[20] While not wanting to detract from their ability to achieve appointment by academic merit, the fact that some areas were still finding it hard to recruit staff up to around

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[16]Beryl Hughes and Sheila Ahern, *Redbrick and Bluestockings. Women at Victoria 1899-1993,* Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1993, p 148.
[17]Ephra Garrett.
[18]Report on the Universities Review Committee to the New Zealand Vice Chancellors' Committee, "New Zealand's Universities. Partners in National Development", National Library, Wellington, 1987, p 65.
[19]Ephra Garrett.
[20]*AJHR,* 1966, E3, p 20.

1970[21] created openings for academics of both genders. The numbers of female staff, however, rose very slowly. In 1969 there were 18 females listed from 209 academic staff[22] (8.6%). This is lower than the average for all the universities of 12%[23].

A noticeable feature of the 1960s at Massey in terms of the female staff is not so much the rules governing their options but rather the lack of them. In theory at least women were employed on the same basis as men, with no specific provision for gender. As one put it "I don't think there was anything you could say was, sort of, particular about being a woman staff member".[24] On one level this was certainly good in that women were able to work their way through the ranks without serious structural impediments - "you worked your way up doggedly, step by step".[25] On another, there was no provision for the special circumstances of women, such as maternity leave and part-time status. These were largely left to the discretion of Heads of Department, as was promotion until 1976. While the women interviewed for this exercise felt on the whole that their HODs had been supportive and encouraging, this is perhaps to be expected as they have been able on an individual basis to negotiate and appropriate their place in the university hierarchy. The lack of written guidelines may have worked against others whose HODs were not required to consider the specific needs of their female staff. It may also be a significant element in the fact that only 10 of 26 departments in 1969 listed female staff members.[26]

During the 60s and 70s the steady growth of staff and student numbers at Massey continued. By the time of the Jubilee in 1977 there were 10,479 students (internal and extramural), and 425 staff.[27] The proportion of females enrolled as

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[21]Difficulties in filling appointment are repeatedly mentioned in *AJHR*, E3, Annual Reports of the Department of Education,1963-70.
[22]*Massey University Calendar*, Palmerston North, 1969, pp 9-20.
[23]From *Department of Education Statistics*, Wellington, 1969.
Table 11.30, Staffing of University Institutions, p 69.
[24]Interview with Glynnis Cropp, July 1997.
[25]Interview with Sylvia Rumball, August, 1997.
[26]*Massey University Calendar*, 1969, pp 9-20.
[27]*AJHR*, E3, 1978, p 22.

university students had also increased to around 39.5%.[28] A good proportion of those were adult women enrolled extramurally but scholarships, bursaries and a living allowance for full-time students had also eased the financial burden and made it easier for younger women to continue with their education. The proportion of female staff however fell slightly before recovering and then gaining a little ground. In 1972 women made up 9.2% of staff of all the New Zealand universities.[29] They reached 10% by 1977 and 11.4% in 1979.[30] At Massey they were 8.4% of total staff in 1972, 7.5% in 1975, 9.2% in 1977 and 11.4% in 1979.[31] The dip in proportions coincides incidentally with a turn around in the staffing problems of the previous decade; by 1973 advertisements were attracting "good fields of well qualified applicants from all over the English speaking world".[32]

Throughout the 1970s, aided by the revival of the feminist movement, there was an increasing level of political interest in the position of women in New Zealand tertiary education. In 1975 Dr Juliet Lodge of the Department of Political Studies in the University of Auckland carried out a research project into the role of female staff.[33] The resulting report provided a snapshot of university life in 1974. Based on a mail survey returned by 68 women and 41 men academics holding an appointment of lecturer or above, Lodge determined that "there are significant discrepancies in the employment and career advancement patterns of men and women".[34] She noted, for example, that women tended to concentrate in "the arts" and that they "were under-represented in higher positions and relatively over-represented in untenured,

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[28]O'Neill, p 61.
[29]Juliet Lodge, "New Zealand Women Academics: Some Observations on their Status, Aspirations, and Professional Advancement", in *Political Science*, Vol. 28, No. 1, July 1976, p 24.
[30]Department of Statistics, *Profile of Women. A statistical comparison of females and males in New Zealand 1945-1984*, Wellington, 1985, Table 21, p 26.
[31]Source, *Massey University Calendar*, University Staff Lists, 1972-1979.
[32]*AJHR*, E3, 1973, p 27.
[33]Juliet Lodge, "New Zealand Women Academics".
[34]Ibid., p 23.

servicing positions".[35] She also reviewed promotion patterns and found that women were taking longer to gain seniority than men, despite equivalent qualifications. She argued that "Promotion is not merely contingent upon objective criteria of excellence but also on attitudes towards professional advancement and towards competition for senior positions. Women may well be more humble where promotion is concerned".[36] The figures cited do suggest that women would wait longer than men to apply for promotion or be more willing to accept positions below their ability level.

Lodge identifies social attitudes towards the role of women and a consequent unwillingness to view them as 'serious' professionals as the prime factor in their poor statistical standing on university staff lists. Her argument is that stereotypical views of women's prime role as being to raise families were not being seriously challenged in the 1970s, even within the university environment - as evidence of this the lack of adequate creche facilities and formal maternity leave arrangements.[37] One of the Massey women interviewed had four children during the 70s and continued to work part-time around raising her family. She had, she said "a very supportive Head of Department...who - probably against the times - ensured that [she] was allowed to keep [her] full permanent position" but felt in retrospect that "I may have been a bit too generous with my time because there was no upfront arrangement made, it was just by a cozy sort of informal way. I think people are better off with knowing what their entitlement is and its not being on a grace and favour arrangement."[38]

An interesting note to make is that some of the universities, including Massey, contained an "anti-nepotism" clause in their staff employment regulations. The clause was intended to prevent married couples from competing professionally within the same department[39] or senior staff being accused of aiding their relatives. While not being gender specific it was in practice discriminatory against women because the

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[35]Lodge, *New Zealand Women Academics,* p 24.
[36]Ibid., p 28.
[37]Ibid., pp. 37-39.
[38]Interview with Sylvia Rumball.
[39]Lodge, p 38.

expectation was that the female would give precedence to the male career. At Massey the clause was specific to Heads of Department who were not allowed to have their "husband or wife" employed within the same department. It apparently stayed part of the Staff Handbook until the late 70s when it came under the fire of human rights and anti-discrimination legislation.[40]

At Massey there were more women staff every year but the proportions remained very low and the trends identified by Lodge are clearly evident. The most obvious is the shrinking proportion of women at each ascent on the seniority scale. In 1977 women were 26.8% of Junior Lecturers, 14.2% of Lecturers, 7% of Senior Lecturers/Reader/Associate Professors and a mere 1.8% of Professors nationally.[41] At Massey they were 21.7% of Junior Lecturers, 18.5% of Lecturers and 4.2% of Senior Lecturers/Reader/Associate Professors. There were no female Professors.[42] While women were more visible in the arts and social science departments they were still in a minority and some 16 out of the university's 37 departments (43%) continued to be completely male dominated with no female teaching staff.[43] It has been argued that these trends at Massey and at the other universities are a clear reflection of "the wider feminisation of the workforce and the location of women in the lower echelons of all its occupational groupings".[44]

However, some women were challenging the odds and moving into the ranks of senior staff at Massey and the other universities. Victoria appointed its first female Dean in 1976.[45] The highest position held by a woman at Massey in the late 70s was Reader (now Associate Professor) of whom there were two. The first was Mary Earle in Food Technology in 1971.[46] Glynnis Cropp completed a Doctorate in France in

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[40]Conversation with John Jay, former Human Resources Registrar, Massey University.
[41]Source, Department of Statistics, *Education Statistics of New Zealand,* 1978. Table 75, Staffing of University Institutions, 1977.
[42]*Massey University Calendar,* University Staff List, 1977, pp. 15-33.
[43]Ibid.
[44]O'Neill, p 65.
[45]Hughes and Ahern, p 175.
[46]*Massey University Calendar, 1971.*

1969-70 and on her return was promoted to a Senior Lectureship. In 1976 a new system of promotion was introduced and instead of recommendations being made by the Head of Department individual academic staff could themselves apply. Glynnis Cropp did this in 1978 and was granted a Readership.[47] Another woman testing the ceiling was Sylvia Rumball. She made Senior Lecturer in Chemistry in 1975, a role she combined with producing four children born in 1970, 1972, 1973 and 1977 (two conveniently arrived during vacations!)[48] Her career was precedent setting in that she was the first permanent half-time academic at Massey. In this, she says, "The university was well ahead of its time...I later met many women on other campuses both in this country and in the USA and UK who envied my position."[49]

Women were also making their contribution in the areas of research and course development. An outstanding example is again Sylvia Rumball who set up teaching courses in chemistry, developed the first science extramural offering and established a research unit for protein crystallography that has earned recognition as a world leader in its field.[50] The responsibilities of a family however certainly had an impact both because of the safety aspects of using x-ray equipment while pregnant and the amount of time available for working on research. Ephra Garrett, too, had completed her masters thesis and in 1976 became a foundation member of the Department of Social Policy and Social Work, in those days a unit of the Sociology Department.[51] Her Professor at the time described her as being "decisive" in subsequent course development.[52] In addition, in 1975 she became the first woman elected as a staff representative on the Professorial Board.[53] Certainly, where women were able to break

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[47]Glynnis Cropp.
[48]Interview with Sylvia Rumball.
[49]Sylvia Rumball, "Life as a Female Scientist in the New Zealand University System: A response to the question 'How was it for you?". in M. Cresswell (ed), *Celebrating Women in Science,* Proceedings of the Women's Suffrage Centennial Science Conference, Wellington, 2-4 September, 1993.
[50]Ibid., p 73.
[51]Ephra Garrett.
[52]Interview with Professor Graeme Fraser, October, 1997.
[53]Prior to this Glynnis Cropp had attended meetings as Acting Head of the Dept. of

into the ranks they made their presence known and contributed their own views to the growth of courses offered.

The early 1980s saw the number of women staff continue to creep up. In 1983 they comprised 13.5% of all academic staff at New Zealand universities.[54] By 1985 16% of the staff at Massey were female.[55] Women were also increasing their representation at every step on the scale but there were still very few in the highest posts. The most senior women teaching at Massey in 1984 were Readers who comprised 5.9% (4) of the total at that level. There was one woman Council member, appointed by the Governor General.[56]

Margaret Wilson's 1986 *Report on the Status of Academic Women in New Zealand* is a valuable source of collated data on this period. The study was ordered by the AUTNZ Council Standing Committee on Staffing Issues in 1983 to investigate why women were not achieving equal representation on university staffs despite legal opportunity. Based on an extensive mail survey and a cross-section of 25 interviews it aimed to "define and identify discrimination within specific institutions and devise a response to reverse any discriminatory practices that have been identified".[57] The Report outlines a general profile of the statistical location of women within the New Zealand tertiary sector in 1984 and then attempts to explain that location by examining some of the differences in educational background, university career and outside responsibilities between male and female academics.

The study found that nationally most academic women were still employed in low status positions - only 6.9% were Readers, Associate Professors or Professors (as against 33.4% of men) and almost half (46%) were in an arts or social science faculty. Women were more likely than men to work part-time and less likely than men to hold a

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Modern Languages in 1967-68 and 1973-74.
[54]Department of Statistics, *Profile of Women,* Table 21, p24.
[55]*Massey University Calendar,* 1985, pp 12-37.
[56]*Massey University Calendar,* 1984, pp 12-37.
[57]Margaret Wilson, *Report on the Status of Academic Women in New Zealand,* Introduction.

tenured position.[58] At Massey in 1984 72.2% of male and only 49.4% of female academics held tenured positions.[59] Wilson also found that the figures were reflected in administration and policy making where "women, because of their low status, are not well-represented in the authority decision-making positions within the university".[60]

One significant difference to emerge was that proportionately fewer women than men had completed a doctorate degree (35.6% to 58% of men) which had "important implications for the level at which women were appointed to their first academic position, and also their prospects for promotion".[61] The figures are partly a reflection of the fact that although the proportions of girls at every level of tertiary study had been steadily increasing there was a persistent drop at each level of attainment. By 1987 females outnumbered males enrolled for Bachelors degrees at 51.9% but at Masters level they dropped to 43% and continued dropping to 31% of PhD students.[62] Even so, as O'Neill points out, "Given the overall increase in the numbers of women undertaking university study over the last decade, it would seem logical to assume a corresponding increase in the number of university teachers...This has not happened".[63]

The Wilson Report had two major effects at Massey. One was the establishment of the Committee on the Status of Academic Women in 1987, and the other was more localised scrutiny of the situation in relation to female staff. Elizabeth Ponter of the Sociology Department at Massey University took up the challenge in a Report commissioned by the Massey University Committee on the Status of Academic Women. Based on a survey of all female academic staff listed in September 1988 and representative interviews, it closely resembles the Wilson research both in approach and

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[58]Wilson, *Report on the status of academic women in New Zealand,* p 9.
[59]Ibid., Table 15, p 20.
[60]Ibid., p 24.
[61]Ibid., p 16.
[62]O'Neill, Table 4.2, p 62.
[63]Ibid., pp 63-64.

conclusions.[64] The statistical profile Ponter outlines shows the same steady increases in female staff representation and the same gulf between actual and equal experience evident in the other universities. Despite legal redress for equality in employment provided by the 1977 Human Rights Commission Act, "progress to reality [had] been slow".[65]

Table 1, compiled by Ponter from information supplied by the Personnel Office, shows the proportion of total academic staff for each grade.[66]

Table 1

Distribution of Female and Male Academic Staff at Massey University, May 1989

Position	Female no.	% of total academic staff	Male no.	% of total academic staff
Professor	4	**.5**	55	**7.7**
Reader	3	**.4**	75	**9.8**
Sen. Lecturer	25	**3.3**	232	**30.4**
Lecturer	66	**8.7**	95	**12.5**
Jun. Lecturer	27	**3.5**	35	**4.6**
Graduate Assistant	21	**2.8**	24	**3.1**
Tutor	13	**1.7**	6	**.8**
Research Officers	12	**1.6**	19	**2.5**
Post Doctoral Fellow	2	**.3**	15	**2.0**
Other	7	**.9**	27	**3.5**
Total	180	**23.7**	583	**76.4**

Note: figures do not equal 100% due to rounding.

[64] Ponter, *Report on the Status of Academic Women at Massey University,* October, 1989.
[65] Ponter, Introduction.
[66] Ibid., Table 2, p 5.

According to the results of Ponter's research, in 1988 women comprised less than a quarter of the academic staff at Massey and almost a third of departments employed no women at all.[67] The first comment under "Key Issues" is that "Although there have been some advances for some women at Massey since the Wilson Report the overall position of women is not improving significantly".[68]

The differences are most obvious at the level of Reader (1 in every 8 men but only 1 in every 59 women), Senior Lecturer (1 in every 2.5 men and one in every 7 women) and Lecturer (1 in every 3 women but only one in every 6 men).[69] The good news was that one of the eight Deans was female: Glynnis Cropp became Dean of Humanities in 1987.[70] From 1985 it became even harder for women to advance when the lecturer scale was extended from six steps to eight and then to eleven. Some women who had been in the expected two years wait for promotion at the top of the scale got caught twice by the extensions - "Every time I got to the top of the lecturer scale...they extended the scale so I'd have another three steps to go through before I could get promoted to Senior Lecturer".[71] The changes were particularly disadvantageous for women because of their relative over-representation at the lecturer level.[72]

Statistically in 1988 women on the academic staff at Massey were outnumbered by men 4:1, the ratio increasing to 12:1 in the senior ranks.[73] Similar trends were evident in the other universities. The figures cannot be adequately explained by legislated policy or differences in levels of educational achievement but are largely a reflection of attitudes, both inside and outside the university, towards the 'natural' role of women and the responsibilities that result. As such they were difficult to attack but

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[67]Ponter, p 4.
[68]Ibid., p 31.
[69]Ibid., p 1.
[70]Glynnis Cropp.
[71]Interview with Margaret Tennant, August, 1997.
[72]Ponter, p 21.
[73]Ibid., p 1.

some women were challenging the odds, taking on new roles and moving into the ranks of the gate-keepers. As they went they made policy, wrote rules and tested attitudes.

CHAPTER TWO

SIGNS OF THE TIMES - A PERSONAL PROFILE

There is about a 30 year age gap between the oldest and the youngest of the women interviewed for this research exercise. Glynnis Cropp, Sylvia Rumball and Ephra Garrett were first employed at Massey in the 1960s. Margaret Tennant was a student there in the 1970s and started as a junior lecturer in 1978. Because of this difference their stories have been grouped thematically rather than strictly chronologically. Professor Fraser's comments have been taken into account to include some male perspective and because he has been actively involved in helping to get resources and recognition for women at Massey. Despite the division in ages, personal circumstances and the growth and change of 25 years of university expansion, similar themes emerged from the interviews.[74] This personal profile attempts to follow them.

All of the women who took part in this research exercise had families who were "keen on education"[75] and wanted their daughters to continue. Fathers particularly were seen to want an education for their children that they themselves had been unable to achieve and to take advantage of any opportunity that enabled them to provide it. Sylvia Rumball, commenting on her family says that "Looking back I realise that my father, clever, intelligent but ninth of nine children, and who after only one year of secondary schooling had been needed on the farm, was very proud of some of his North Island cousins who had had tertiary education".[76] The comment was echoed by Margaret Tennant who was the first in her family to have a tertiary education:

> My parents both started secondary school but never had much of a secondary school education and dad in particular was very bitter about that, that he'd been forced to leave school during the war, when they were looking out for apprentices to fill gaps. He became a motor mechanic and he really

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[74]This is to be expected in view of the fact that they were asked the same general set of questions but prompts were kept to a minimum to allow the interviewees to speak about what was relevant to them. The paths they chose to follow varied considerably.
[75]Ephra Garrett, 1997.
[76]Rumball, *Life as a Female Scientist,* p 71.

> pushed me educationally so I was kind of getting the education that he wasn't able to have. I think that was quite important...that I had a father who wanted me to stay on.[77]

Once given access to higher education these women, outstanding scholars as they all are, rose to the top like cream. Three of the four (at least - one did not say) earned scholarships by academic merit.

Another significant feature to emerge from the interviews was the importance and influence of secondary school. Two of the women attended Christchurch Girls' High School in the 1950s, "an all-girl's school dedicated to academic excellence".[78] Christchurch Girls' has a long reputation of encouraging high standards of educational achievement. It was originally founded under the control of the University of New Zealand "Which moulded the school to its requirements".[79] There, and in other schools with an ethos of high achievement, earlier female graduates provided role models of women who had themselves excelled in academic pursuit and who "encouraged their pupils to go on to higher education at a time when this was not common for girls".[80]

Family finances were always a deciding factor as was pointed out early on. "We were a somewhat poor family but there were only two of us...if there had been more we would not have been able to stay at secondary school...in those days finances were such that you couldn't have kept a big family in education".[81] In the 1950s the "wool-boom years" brought an increase in income to the parents of one woman "and while many of my older female cousins had dutifully returned home to help their mother, attend Young Farmers' Club dances and marry suitably, my elder sister and I were given the freedom to continue on with our education and go to university".[82] In

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[77]Margaret Tennant.
[78]Rumball, *Life as a Female Scientist,* p 71.
[79]Winifred MacDonald, *Footprints of Kate Edger. A History of the New Zealand Federation of University Women 1921-1981,* New Zealand Federation of University Women Inc., Auckland, 1982, p 31.
[80]Ibid., Rumball.
[81]Ephra Garrett.
[82]Rumball, *Life as a Female Scientist,* p 71.

the early 1970s the fact that scholarships and bursaries covered fees and a Teachers' Studentship provided a living allowance "was important because, what I came from, given my family background, I'm not sure if my parents could have afforded today to send me to Varsity".[83]

Teaching also proved significant because it was an acceptable profession for girls to train in, paid a living allowance and gave them access to university. In the 40s, to get out of the 'terrifically small' range of occupations for women "you either went nursing or you went to Teachers' College because both of those jobs you got paid". At Wellington Teachers' College "a good liberal arts college with a bit of training for teaching thrown in...they really pushed for you to go and do some subjects at university. I never would have got there otherwise".[84] In the 70s too "the big aspiration in the family was for me to become a school teacher. That was the traditional avenue of social mobility I think - if you were 'bright' you could move into a professional kind of life via teaching".[85]

Some women it seems found education addictive and followed a "natural progression"[86] through to post-graduate degrees. Three of the women interviewed went straight from Bachelors' degrees to post-graduate study. The ability to complete Masters and PhDs had obvious career implications for all the women. Ephra Garrett trained as a teacher, completing part of a degree simultaneously, and taught for several years before returning to university to complete a Diploma of Social Science in 1951-52. She then worked for four years as a Maori Welfare Officer until "I had my first baby and in those days you stopped work...so I was sitting on eight units of a nine unit degree".[87] When Peter Freyberg, the first Director of Extramural Studies,[88] was recruiting staff in the 1960s he offered Ephra work as a sessional assistant for Human

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[83]Margaret Tennant.
[84]Ephra Garrett.
[85]Margaret Tennant.
[86]Ibid.
[87]Ephra Garrett.
[88]Owens, *Campus Beyond the Walls,* p 14.

Development and she was encouraged/motivated/sucked back into completing her own studies. While part way through her MA she had the "mirage" that resulted in her appointment as a Junior Lecturer.

When Massey began to open up and grow in the 1960s positions were created for academic staff of both genders. In theory at least there was nothing to stop suitably qualified women from applying for teaching positions to which they were appointed, when successful, on the same basis as men. That proportionately few were, was simply a "sign of the times",[89] a manifestation of society's expectation that the 'natural' sphere for women was domestic. It should be noted too that although Massey was a relatively new university half the base was the almost exclusively male Agricultural College staff. Fortunately in any age there are always a few females who cannot leave well enough alone and insist on asserting their individuality. As Massey began to develop and grow qualified women did apply and gained positions on the academic staff.

Glynnis Cropp had an MA in French from Canterbury University and had already been appointed to PNUC when it merged with the Agricultural College. Then "There weren't many staff at all in the General Studies area, probably about 20 to 30 academic and general staff. Most of the women would have been in the library and in secretarial positions. There would have been about three women lecturers".[90] After completing a Doctorate in France in 1969-70 she was promoted to Senior Lecturer, a Readership in 1979, Head of the Department of Modern Languages in 1985 and Dean of the Faculty of Humanities in 1987. She has also published around 40 articles and 30 critical reviews, most in the area of medieval literature.

She is only one example. She, and others like her, "broke the ground for subsequent female staff" and "provided exemplary role models"[91] for staff and students. While there was no formal system of mentoring between women, blamed on

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[89]This comment was made repeatedly in the interviews.
[90]Glynnis Cropp.
[91]Interview with Professor Fraser, October, 1997.

"the busyness of lives here and the fact that people are really flat out in their teaching and research"[92], they had more effect on others than they gave themselves credit for. Glynnis Cropp again "was a marvellous teacher, high standards but a marvellous teacher".[93] 'Successful' women helped also to feed a growing recognition "that they should be there".[94]

There were no specific rules or allowances made for female staff at Massey for many years. Guidelines for working conditions, leave, promotion, for example, were gender neutral and details worked out by negotiation with HODs. There was no help with child care until the 1970s and no legal right to parental leave until 1982[95]. A very real awareness came from the interviews that women on staff had to learn the rules of the game. The rules were to work hard both on teaching and on increasing personal development, again gender neutral. The consequence that emerges most strongly from this for the first years is that lives were so busy on an individual level that there was little time left for worrying about female solidarity. It was not until the 80s that gatherings like the Inter-Faculty Women's group and the Status of Academic Women Committee began to appear.

This is not meant to imply that women could not negotiate on an individual basis for working conditions that could be combined with personal circumstances. In fact "some people argue if you don't have any regulation, you [could] actually, with a supportive HOD, be treated better".[96] However, the fact that there were no written regulations could have worked against women whose HODs were not supportive of them wanting to combine work and domestic responsibilities. As already mentioned Sylvia Rumball was the first permanent part-time academic on staff at Massey, a considerable breakthrough when previously women who could not work full-time were

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[92]Interview with Sylvia Rumball.
[93]Ephra Garrett.
[94]Professor Fraser.
[95]Wilson, *Report on the Status of Academic Women in New Zealand,* p 24.
[96]Interview with Sylvia Rumball.

lucky to retain temporary status. In 1986 she also had sabbatical leave regulations reviewed because they were not appropriate for part-time workers. She says:

> Sabbatical leave rules were very inappropriate - they were not written to cover a part-time person because there never had been a part-time permanent person before...no-one had ever thought of it, but in the end we got the rules rewritten....That was a matter of showing people that it wasn't inappropriate for me to be permanent and yet part-time and that the rules could be written to allow for that.[97]

It should be noted that some women did find employment at Massey conducive to combining professional and domestic responsibility.

While it may not have been easy, especially in the days before the creche and paid maternity leave, some women were able to combine an academic life with the demands of family commitments. In the 60s when Ephra Garrett's children were small her family role brought her back to Massey and "it was a life saver. My husband was out every night because he ran the university extension and I'd get the kids to bed, clear the house, get everything ready for the morning and sit down with my books and my marking and it was marvellous".[98] She used the time that she was needed at home to finish her degree, leading to employment as a junior lecturer in 1968.

A prime example of the demands of home is again Sylvia Rumball. Her whole academic career has been a balance between personal and professional lives. She came to Massey in 1967, cutting short a Post-doctoral Fellowship at Oxford University, to be with her fiancé who already had a job in Palmerston North. Appointed as a lecturer in chemistry, she had the job of setting up a new research unit: "About the time I finally acquired the equipment (it took 2-3 years), I was pregnant...Once again, research work took second place to my personal life".[99] She did however negotiate a 50% job, increasing to 80% in 1985 - "to coincide approximately with the school day" - and full-time in 1989.[100] While the years of part-time certainly had a major effect on

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[97]Interview with Sylvia Rumball.
[98]Ephra Garrett.
[99]Rumball, *Life as a Female Scientist,* p 72.
[100]Rumball, *Life as a Female Scientist,* p 73.

upfront research and publications she did find time to co-author some 20 scientific articles.

Massey expanded rapidly in the 1970s, taking in more female students every year. Margaret Tennant ("an outstanding student")[101] is a Massey graduate. She too had to make choices to accommodate her personal life: "I got married at the beginning of my third year of undergraduate study and I think that was probably why I didn't go overseas [my husband] had a job and other options opened up here and it just seemed easier to stay and do my research here. Massey was very good to me, very supportive".[102] At the time she was appointed to the History Department as a Junior Lecturer in 1978 there was one other woman on the staff. That was "both good and bad. I did actually feel quite isolated but it was good in one way because it meant I made contacts with women in other departments".[103]

Another important theme to emerge through the years was the part that male mentors have played for women staff at Massey, significant because, as the statistics illustrate, "the gate keepers in those days were all men".[104] When Ephra Garrett was involved in developing a paper in the 70s with "a strong thread about women...luckily Professor Fraser was very interested, and also my Professor from Social Policy, he had been interested in women's issues. They were important in terms of gate keepers otherwise it might not have been easy to get a paper on the books".[105] While some men in key positions of authority at Massey may have continued over the years to maintain "conservative attitudes"[106] there was growing recognition among others of the need to actively encourage female participation at all levels of the university system. Sometimes this could take the form of encouraging able female students to continue with post-graduate study or reticent female staff to apply for promotion. Or there was

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[101]Professor Fraser.
[102]Margaret Tennant.
[103]Ibid.
[104]Ibid.
[105]Ephra Garrett.
[106]Ponter, p 31.

the more practical approach of selling beer to raise funds for the first creche.[107] Incidentally, this man considered his "greatest triumph" to be convincing the then Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Alan Stewart, to pay for the creche supervisor.

The extramural function at Massey has also been significant to female staff, partly because the hours can be manipulated to suit the demands of personal lives. Sylvia Rumball volunteered to do the first extramural teaching in chemistry "because I had small children and I knew that it would be something that didn't tie me to quite the same rigid timetable as internal teaching".[108] Glynnis Cropp spent her first weekend in Palmerston North writing an extramural study guide. It could also be "one of the nice things about lecturing at Massey" because of the contact with "a more varied clientele".[109] The growing numbers of female students studying extramurally, increasingly in untraditional areas such as veterinary science and agriculture, additionally "challenged us to take into account their circumstances"[110] and helped raise awareness among male staff into the dual role of many female academics.

Female staff did also to some extent play a part in the creation and development of papers both extramurally and internally. As women joined in increasing numbers and gained seniority they were able to contribute some ideas on new courses. In the late 1970s Ephra Garrett helped create and implement the first Women's Studies programme beginning with a 200 level paper titled "Women in Society".[111] The 80s saw other departments add papers that sought to account for the experience of women. In History "we've always been able to have our say and to promote the teaching of women's history or social history...I was given the opportunity to develop women's history and I had total control over what went into that paper and how it was taught".[112] As they gained the necessary seniority they did also take part in mainstrain development

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[107]Professor Fraser.
[108]Interview with Sylvia Rumball.
[109]Margaret Tennant.
[110]Professor Fraser.
[111]Ibid.
[112]Margaret Tennant.

- "the same as anyone I think. There's a process of peer review in all departments to make sure no-ones doing anything too wacky...I think we've always had a reasonable kind of voice".[113]

As women staff rose through the ranks they eventually began to appear on the administrative and management committees of their departments. In the late 1970s it was still "99% male in those meetings"[114] in some areas, but by the 1980s there was a growing effort to appoint women to serve as committee members. Awareness was however "more powerful in certain faculties than others - some parts of the university were more enlightened than others". The fact that there were relatively few women to call upon to fill positions on committees meant they were "in a sense exploited",[115] or asked to spend more time on administrative chores than men. On the other hand "it [could] be an advantage or a disadvantage depending on how you [saw] it...I got to do quite a lot of committee work, probably more than a lot of men of equivalent status which takes away from research time but it was really good experience".[116]

By 1988 Glynnis Cropp was Dean of Humanities, Sylvia Rumball was a Senior Lecturer in Chemistry, Ephra Garrett was a Senior Lecturer in Social Policy and Social Work and Margaret Tennant was a Lecturer in History. This profile is necessarily selective. There are other areas that could be discussed, however it seems appropriate to end this personal section of the exercise with a quote from each of the people interviewed in order to create it:

> "I've never felt hindered by the fact that I'm female. The most opposition was really in the 70s and it came from other postgrads, potential competitors for jobs. On the whole I think my colleagues have been really good. I've been so incredibly lucky and here I am in a job where you've got this real combination where you teach and research and do administration, you can focus on whichever one you feel your talents are best directed at".[117]

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[113]Margaret Tennant.
[114]Interview with Sylvia Rumball.
[115]Professor Fraser.
[116]Margaret Tennant.
[117]Ibid.

"Nothing stands still over 25 years. The number of women staff has increased and the University has made an effort to recruit women...even though there are some areas where there are just not applicants coming forward. The University is now very much more conscious, very much more committed, since the 1980s, to equal employment opportunities and equal opportunities in education".[118]

"I'm paid half a lecturers salary because I'm only teaching one paper. I wouldn't want more. I'm here most days because there's work to be done but I can take my time. I can come early or not early as long as I get the work done. It's been good for my aging brain cells, yes it has. It's given me a second lease of life. So I have a very long and grateful connection with Massey."[119]

"It's a mindset you know because you have to make yourself find out what you want to know, put yourself on the inside - don't forever behave as if you're always on the outside looking in. I guess over the years I've been very much more a person who saw myself as working on the inside and making certain that I was on the inside where I felt I could be much more effective - and not standing on the outside looking in."[120]

"They've had to battle their way through byzantian attitudes...it took a long time. From the early 80s there was increased momentum for recognition of women's needs and it has been a more constructive and positive environment. They were great teachers, gave outstanding service beyond the call of duty... but I suspect there may still be work to do".[121]

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[118]Glynnis Cropp.
[119]Ephra Garrett.
[120]Interview with Sylvia Rumball.
[121]Professor Fraser. (This statement is reconstructed from notes due to tape difficulties)

CHAPTER THREE

MOTHBALLS AT ONE END - AN OVERVIEW

In the 1960s demographic trends in New Zealand created a need for more university places and consequently more university teachers, including women. From 1963 to 1988 Massey University grew from a small institution with less than a thousand staff and students to a substantial organisation with over 700 people employed on the teaching staff alone.[122] So far this exercise has outlined a statistical profile of female staff at Massey over this 25 year period and a personal profile of some of the individuals those figures represent. The two stories are seeming opposites; one emphasising the 'failure' and one the 'success' of women at Massey. This section of the exercise integrates the two perspectives in order to identify and discuss some of the trends suggested by both as representative of the history of "Women at Massey". In conclusion it briefly discusses the wider context of university development and the changing environment for female staff.

In 1963 Ella Campbell held the highest post for a female on the academic staff at Massey as a Senior Lecturer in the Chemistry Department,[123] a distinction she maintained until 1969 when a female Associate Professor was appointed.[124] Victoria University had one female Associate Professor in 1963, a Professor by 1965 and a second in 1968.[125] In fact Massey lagged slightly behind the other New Zealand universities in terms of female staff representation right through until the late 1970s, particularly in senior posts. There were two likely reasons for the differences: first, the strong agricultural history and continuing influence at Massey showed particular resistance to female staff and second, the relative newness of Massey in relation to the other universities where there had been more time for some women to gain promotion.

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[122]*Massey University Calendar*, 1988, pp 8-35.
[123]*Massey University College of Manawatu Calendar*, 1963, pp 9-13.
[124]*Massey University Calendar*, 1969, pp 9-20.
[125]Hughes and Ahern, pp 149-150.

On the other hand Massey was ahead of the other universities in some ways such as the granting of permanent part-time status and, in the late 70s and early 80s, the recognition of the need to positively encourage female participation at all levels. One contributing factor may have been the extramural function. Extramural teaching was significant for the female staff at Massey both because the hours could be manipulated to suit domestic demands and because it raised perceptions among male staff into the dual role expected of many female academics. As the numbers of females enrolled in extramural papers continued to grow "You were faced with significant numbers of women having to deal with home and also striving to complete university degrees. A lot of them were adult women who knew what they wanted and it became a challenge to take into account their circumstances".[126] For some women too extramural provided access to a tertiary education during years they were tied to a home by children. Ephra Garrett worked as a sessional assistant for Massey and completed her Masters papers while her children were young. In her 1989 study Elizabeth Ponter found that "The demands of extramural work weigh heavily on many Massey academics and may restrict research work".[127] This was of concern because of the relative low prestige of extramural teaching and the importance of publishing for promotion. While it may have been true, the evidence also suggests that where there were gender differences in extramural teaching loads they could be a matter of choice.

It is arguable which university was "pre-eminent". In a history of Victoria it is said that the environment there was "more supportive and progressive than that at any other"[128] but apart from the differences in degree the situation for female staff was markedly similar in all the New Zealand universities. Despite the fact that by 1985 females constituted 46.3% of internal and 62% of extramural university enrolments nationally[129] they were still only 17.7% of university teachers in 1987.[130] On the other

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[126]Professor Fraser.
[127]Ponter, p 32.
[128]Hughes and Ahern, p 173.
[129]Anne Horsfield, *Women in the economy. A research report on the economic position of women in New Zealand,* Wellington, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1988, Table 6.19,

hand there were considerable advances in the period under review: women at Massey increased their representation on the academic staff by around 400%.[131] The growth was due both to a gradual change in attitudes towards acceptable roles for women and to the academic excellence and determination of the women themselves.

In the 1960s when the women interviewed began their careers at Massey University they were among the proportionately few females who had been able to complete an education to the necessary level for academic employment. While numbers of girls enrolled in Bachelors degrees had been steadily increasing the figures for post-graduate enrolments were much slower to rise. In 1971 females were 24.8% of Masters and 11.6% of Ph.D. students. In 1978 when Margaret Tennant was doing her Ph.D. the figures were 32.6% of Masters and 21.4% of Ph.D. enrolments nationally.[132] One of the constraints preventing more girls from continuing at university was undoubtedly financial but the main reasons for interruption to study reported in this exercise were family considerations. It is notable that the three women who had completed Ph.Ds were childless when they did so. Women were, it seems, also more likely to have to give up the chance to gain research experience overseas. Later in the period, as the pool of qualified candidates grew and the "desperate shortages" of the 1960s eased it became increasingly important to hold a Ph.D, both for level of initial appointment and prospects of promotion.

By 1987 women were actually a majority of Humanities (54%) and Social Sciences (52%) Ph.D. candidates nationally but they were the distinct minority in Science (26.7%), Technology (26%), Agriculture (24%), Business (17.7%) and Engineering (7%).[133] This helps to explain the continued lack of female representation in some departments at Massey in 1988. The Arts and Social Sciences faculties did

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p 375.
[130]O'Neill, p 64.
[131]From 7% in 1963 to 24% in 1988.
[132]Department of Statistics, *Profile of Women*, p 25.
[133]O'Neill, Table 4.3, p 63.

prove to be more amenable to female staff but they never outnumbered men and a third of departments employed no women at all.[134]

The major influence on both the ability to complete a Ph.D. and the choice of speciality in the 60s and 70s was the generally held view that the natural sphere for women was domestic. The assumption was that a woman would not need to work once she had a husband to support her. In a modern era of a democratic society there was no justification for denying education to girls, in fact it was a desirable attribute, but this did not necessarily disturb the prevailing attitude that most women would "marry suitably" and stay home to raise babies. Sylvia Rumball says that "Interestingly, I do not remember any discussion at all about what one might do with this education".[135]

Ephra Garrett thought the fact that she had a husband with an income was a factor in her level of first appointment - "It wasn't personal discrimination but because these two men were married and had families and my husband was working...the men were given temporary Lectureships and three years to get their Masters done and I had my papers and I was doing my thesis and I was given a Junior Lectureship".[136] In the 1970s too Margaret Tennant felt some resentment from other post-graduates that she, as a married woman, was competing for jobs. She didn't let it stop her.

In 1986 the Wilson report found that there were discrepancies between appointment levels of men and women, despite equivalent qualifications. Where 52.6% of men holding Ph.Ds were first appointed Lecturer or above, only 39.5% of women began at those levels. With Masters as the highest qualification, 50% of men and 21% of women were appointed as Lecturer or above. The report states that "It is difficult to assess why there should be such a difference...unless appointments are made on potential and it is assumed that women with this qualification are not potential career academics".[137] This exercise found no evidence to suggest that women with Ph.Ds

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[134]Ponter, p 1.
[135]Rumball, *Life as a Female Scientist,* 71.
[136]Ephra Garrett.
[137]Wilson, *Report on the status of academic women in New Zealand,* p 19.

were appointed at a lower ranking than men but that they were appointed to the lowest possible ranking for their qualification.[138] Changes in procedures in 1976 to allow staff to apply for their own promotion were beneficial for female academics, however the extensions to the Lecturer scale between 1985 and 1988 "caused consternation among women lecturers because of their predominance in this position".[139]

The first major effort to research the role of women in New Zealand universities was the Lodge study in 1976. It found that "attitudes" were often more important than "objective criteria of academic excellence" to both appointment and promotion. Lodge also highlights an interesting distinction in views at the time towards "normal" women who had babies and "deviant" women who modelled themselves on men and remained childless.[140] Sylvia Rumball was reminded that the roles of mother and academic were not seen as compatible when her Postdoctoral scholarship to Cornell University was withdrawn after she informed them that she would have a young baby with her. "After much pleading it was restored but the incident left me with bitter memories. It was clear that one **could** be a woman scientist, even a married woman scientist but **not** a woman scientist with children".[141]

Perhaps the clearest indication of expectations as to the correct role for women in the 60s and 70s was the lack of written guidelines for maternity leave and permanent part-time status or provision for child-care. That leave and status had to be negotiated on an individual basis supported the view that personal and professional responsibilities belonged in separate spheres. It also left women, who were more likely than men to work part-time, particularly vulnerable to budget considerations. Sylvia Rumball had no difficulty increasing her appointment to 80% in 1985 but when she wanted to return to full-time employment in 1989 "the transition was less easy due to much increased pressure on departments to keep staffing levels down".[142]

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[138]Admittedly the sample is too small to support generalisations.
[139]Ponter, p 21.
[140]Lodge, p 32.
[141]Rumball, *Life as a Female Scientist, p 72.*
[142]Ibid., p 73.

All of the women interviewed had domestic responsibilities and commitments that meant at times "struggling to find the right balance between these two sides of their lives. It's often very hard for women because they are still expected to meet the demands made on them in a traditional sense by their family".[143] Glynnis Cropp was single but she had the care of an elderly parent for 10 years. Marital status emerged as a significant difference between male and female academics in both the Wilson and Ponter reports. Ponter was led to wonder if "Perhaps it is no coincidence that the three women professors at Massey in October 1988 were not married".[144] The results of this exercise would support the view that an equally effective strategy was to marry an academic man.

In view of the difficulties it is not surprising that those women who did have 'successful' careers at Massey were outstanding in their fields. They taught, researched, published, contributed to course development, provided role models and earned recognition as leaders. Despite this there were no meteoric rises to fame. They started on the bottom and worked their way up, slowly, step by step. There were "no breaks - and you can't bend the rules".[145] Glynnis Cropp got a Ph.D. in 1970 and was appointed Dean of Humanities in 1987. Ephra Garrett got her Masters in 1970 and was promoted to Senior Lecturer in 1976. Sylvia Rumball began in 1967 with a Ph.D., she was promoted to Associate Professor of Chemistry in 1989. Margaret Tennant finished her Ph.D. around 1979 and in 1988 was a Lecturer.

There is a huge amount of variety and change in any 25 year period. The history of "Women at Massey" between 1963 and 1988 has proved to be no exception. In the late 50s and early 60s the whole university system in New Zealand began to open up, Massey University was itself a product of that period of growth. Attitudes in society however did not make it easy for women to diverge from the 'normal' path of marriage and raising children. There were no formal support systems in the university system to

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[143]Glynnis Cropp.
[144]Ponter, p 24.
[145]Interview with Sylvia Rumball.

allow women to combine the roles of academic and mother. In the 70s there was a growing consciousness, among both genders, of the need to encourage women at all levels of representation in Massey University and some efforts were made to recruit female staff but for the most part these were on an individual basis. Only in the mid to late 1980s was there a comprehensive effort made to investigate the reasons for female under-representation and to implement strategies for increasing it. On an individual basis women were always able to negotiate and appropriate their own niche and as they made progress in achieving formal recognition of the special circumstances of women they wrote new guidelines for those who came after. The last word belongs with the people who made this research exercise:

> "In the late 70s and early 80s there was an effort to develop Women's Studies. The female staff developed those themes and in the 80s other departments added courses...there was this image of the house goddess... No, I know there's still work to do".[146]

> "There have been interesting shifts in consciousness in terms of what's said down in the common room and what isn't. Basically I think you have to accept people for what they are and most of the men have made real efforts I think. And as I say some of them have been really supportive to my career and had they not been I might not have gone on".[147]

> "It's not easy. But I think it's important that the University reflect the changes in society outside and responds not just to legislation which is imposed but to changes in other organisations and in society at large".[148]

> "From my humble background I never thought of myself as actually being on the University staff. I've had a very good run at this University as has been my lot. You're talking to some younger women? Oh good, good, because that's a different world, it's a different time and I can't speak for them".[149]

> "But it's true there are some very different views of the world and what's appropriate. A mothball at one end....I think I see us all as a continuum you see".[150]

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[146]Professor Fraser.
[147]Margaret Tennant.
[148]Glynnis Cropp.
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Sylvia Rumball - Dean of Science, Massey University.
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